Lecture - Bridgeton Y.C.L Sun Dec. 26th 1943.

India

(1)

T/SOR/50/3/3

Intro

India a vast Subject

1 will Deal with famine & Causes

2 where responsibity lies for what has been India fate.

3 Importance of India what her contribution can be for victory & Peace.

4 Political Parties & their work.

People Shocked By Famine

not yet fully aware of Suffering

Daily worker Photographs

Governd Bengal Said

" People have taken to eating leaves and Grass."

Lord
Pickthorn ~~Conservative~~ M.P.

" People Picking up food from Garbage heaps in Calcutta"

Conditions like these resulted in 2,500 dead ~~deaths~~ in one week. Picked from Streets of Calcutta.

even worse in Provices of Assam, Bihar, & Orissa

In South Malabar, Travancore Cochin Death Disease

British Rule United India.

Major Organisation Congress representing Indias demand for self-Government

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The Struggle for political and economic freedom Bound up with growth of W.C. movement, T.U's, peasant Organisations etc.

—

Congress

reflects demands of W.C. peasants Intellectuals capitalists etc.

founded end of last century.

Hume - Lord Dufferin

Aimed to separate Loyalists from extremists

Succeeded 20 years to 1906.

Section led by Tilak came out for Self-Government

Strong upsurge of Nat. feeling stimulated by events such as.

Russo-Japanese war + Italo-Abyssynia war - which proved European armies not invincible.

But mainly reflection of General advance of world Ideas, and mass political awakening following 1905

[illegible]

Proposal to divide up Bengal province

against wishes of General population.

partition aimed at weakening that movement where it was particularly strong.

Boycott of foreign goods. To 1911

Govt replied = repressive measures

Tilak sentenced to 6 years.

Encouragement Provoked = Bombay Textile workers General political strike

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1918 - 22.

Struggle began wave of strikes economic & Political.

British framing effects of Russian Revolution.

had to put forward another instalment of reform (Montagu - Chelmsford).

succeeded in splitting congress —

at same time Introduced Rowlatt acts

(imprisonment without Trial.)

In 1919 Ghandi organised Passive resistance against Rowlatt acts

became alarmed = Suspended because clashes would embarass Govt

India (Burma Will Blame) 21/12/44

T/SOR/5013/3

* Importance of India - and Colonies generally cannot be overstressed
- In Post war world new Policy must and they are being formulated By most far-Sighted Sections of Capitalism - if we are to have world economic expansion - International Co-operation and a Lasting Peace.

* But the immediate Question is - The immediate mobilisation of People in far East for the Battle against Japanese.
- The extent to which we do that will Determine the length of the war against Fascism in far East.

* India is main Supply Base Eastern Theatre of war - also operational Base of Drive to chase Japanese out of Burma.

* That is why - from Point of View of military security - Lines of Communication - Morale of troops - (2) Political importance for occupied Colonial Countries - the Deadlock must be ended - leaders released - National Government Set up.

* If such a Policy adopted it would.

(1) Put an end to Strategical Handicap
(2) Release Soldiers to fight fascism who are now acting as Policeman.
(3) Disperse cloud over war aims in far east encourage & Develop struggle of People in Japanese occupied Territory

Roosevelt reiteration of Promise of Independance won't help Gen. Stilwell Support of 40,000 Filipino Guerillas

* In teeth of Violent opposition and misrepresentation of Labour Party executive — Conference passed Resolution which Demanded (1) Formation of a responsible National Govt. which will Rally entire Population of India to the Anti-fascist Cause — (2) Release of Indian Political Prisoners

* This shows organised Labour Understands But must exert more Pressure on Govt By making mass of People Conscious of need to end Deadlock.

* Since the outbreak of war the Indian People have Consistently aligned themselves with Progressive forces — But Cannot be Said that there has not been Serious Contradictions in Congress Policy.

* Congress through Nehru — Support of Spanish People — and Soviet People after invasion. Inds - Soviet Aid Committee Set up Kisan Sabha (Peasant org). Held Soviet Day in July 1941.

* But Congress Policy has been indecisive Middle class leadership Continually adopted Half-way House Position.

* In Imperialist Phase of war Gandhi was willing to take sides with British Govt — Providing Concessions were made.

* Even when war changed and Congress Leadership Passed to J. Nehru & Maulana Kalam Azad. — Continued to Sit on fence. ~~of that~~ P. Describing their Policy as Joshi Said

" Internationally the Congress Leadership has changed its Policy from Symbolic opposition to Imperialist Rule in India to Symbolic Sympathy for the Peoples of the world. The war remains the Same old war with only its Geographical extension into a world war. It was the war of other before, it remains the war of others now."

* True that Congress leaders Proclaimed that Support war etc. But their formulation of National Govt first - means they are waiting for British govt to "give". then a national Govt. — THEY LEAVE INITIATIVE IN HANDS OF BRITISH GOVT.

* Gyhandi Stated " The Key for Unlocking the Door lies with the British Govt."

Nehru Says Unless there is a change of attitude of the British Govt, there Can be no change in the attitude of Congress.

* But No matter How we criticise the Policies of Congress leadership the main responsibility for the Disastrous Situation lies with the British Govt.

* Previous to the Cripps mission in 1942 it looked as if sufficient Pressure was Being Brought to bear to make Britain Change Policy in India.

- Chiang Kai Shek visited India of Feb. 1942. Said "Hoped Britain would give India Real Political Power" not only means to Defeating aggressor nations - turning - Point in Indian Struggle for Freedom.

Similarly Dr. H. Evatt Australian Commonwealth minister in the Same month said.

ose sympathise with the aspirations of the Indian People to become one of the Self-Governing nations, and a Such to take Part in the defence of the allied Cause in Asia."

* at the Same time ~~the~~ American official channells were urging the application of the Atlantic Charter to India.

* But despite grave Military Situation at the time the British Govt could only offer a trick — the Unscrupulous Cripps Mission went to India in April 1942

* The Cripps Proposals resulted in grave Political Situation.
These Proposals were elaborate with Regard to Post war issues — But on fundamental Problem E.I. Setting up that Govt to mobilise Indian People for the war.

* Indian People indignant and rejected. according to hehru were on threshold of agreements - But Cripps retracted a. Previous Statement

* At Lahore Party Conference Walker used Quit India Argument. - used During Cripps Mission

But Indians were willing to accept British Commander in chief
The British offer meant the An Indian Defence minister may Have Control over Canteens & Govt Stationary

* After Cripps failure - Determination

The Congress Passed Resolution

① Declared Sympathy with United Nations Demanded to be regarded as equal ally in war against fascism

② Threatened Civil Disobedience in event of Refusal.

This lead to mass arrests floggings etc. civil conflict Sporadic Disorders etc.

* on Top of this There followed Famine.

Streets in Big towns were littered with dead and dying — Millions were coming from Villages ~~that~~ Towns in Vain Search for food.

Dying on Roads - Jackals followed in wake.
* British troops Picking up Decomposed Bodies instead of burning them

* Mr Amery "An Act of Good.

P.C. Joshi forewarned 2 years before.
Indian Press 10 months before.

* out of Tragic Calamity new forces emerging. Khandi left initiative to Butt. Govt.

Cde. Joshi

"The old Rulers of the world are today no more making History —— They are being yoked to its Chariot. The Course is now the Peoples war. The Actors are now People and Nations who are getting into their Stride.. It is there mighty forces who will shape coming world events"

* On Basis of this theme C.P. formulated - Practiced

Three Slogans for way forward.

① Smash Stalemate ② Assert National Unity ③ mobilise masses.

① organised mil Committees
② food Committees expose Profiteers Prevent Riot Unite People against Provocations
③ famine Relief Cttees - cholera, Malaria etc.

* C.P. legalised 1942. Govt workers Bad not done So. Played enormous role in Preventing utter chaos which Govt hoped to Provoked — could only Help Japanese.

× Played great Role in Unifying People.
Practical Role - Defence Food.

* Great theoretical Contribution in
- Proposals to Solve Problem - Hindu Problem
- and National Question of Pakistan
- Helped Bring about Gandhi Jinnah talks

P. Dutt India a Nation — Unity etc. 1934-40.

Stalin. In the case of India it will Probably Be found that innumerable Nationalities, till then lying Dormant, would Come to life with further Bourgeois Development

* By creating Such Unity Preparing way for defeat of Imperialism

* Post war Int. Co-op. Full Empl. econ exp
Industrialisation Pollit – Tata etc.

* New Conditions of Imp.

Lenins · Fundamental Contradictions

W. C. V Cap
colonial masses v Imp.
conflict of Cap Nations & Groups.

Release leaders etc.

movement Increased intensity
Strengthened Hindu-Moslem unity
which disturbed Govt.

Annexation.

In first six months.
200 Strikes Involving 1½ million

Congress grew stronger 1920 took up
complete self-Government as goal.

1922 all Leader except Ghandi in Gaol-
Bardoli.
Chauri Chaura.

1914 Govt promised Dominion Status
Simon Commission 1927.

between 1923-27.
org Industrial workers Strengthened
Communist Party leaders Sentenced
1924 4 years imp

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Britain as an Educator & conferer of India

Manucchi venetian who became physician to ruler in 17th century.

"The prodigious riches transported from Bengal into Europe are proofs of its great fertility. All things are in abundance here fruits, pulse, Grain, muslins, cloths of gold & silk

Another Traveller Tavernier.

" even in the smallest villages, rice, flower, Butter, milk beans and other vegetables, sugar and other sweetmeats, can be procured in abundance

Indian Commission Report

At a time when western Europe was inhabited by uncivilized tribes, India was famous for the wealth of her rulers and the skill of her craftsmen. even when western adventurers first made their appearance in India. its development was not inferior to that of the more advance European nations

POTENTIAL RESOURCES OF INDIA

India possesses abundant supplies of coal, Iron ore, manganese, Gold, lead, silver and Copper.

Sir Edwin Pascoe TIMES 1931

India Possesses large reserves of coal, estimated 36, Billion Tons ... India also had potentialities as a first rate producer of iron and steel, but the Industry is still in its infancy. Of manganese one of the hardening constituents of steel, India Produced a third of the worlds supply"

Water resources

within India there is 24% of worlds water power resources.

Travellers in old day Described intricate irrigation systems — neglected by British

estimated that elementary improvements ~~would double~~ in Irrigation and instruction in the use of fertilizers would increase agricultural output by 50%

Future Possibilities of Water Power resources.

Electrification

If the Great river were harnessed to dynamo's for the generation of electricity

3% of Resources utilized at present.

POVERTY OF INDIA

Mass of Indian people live on the Land.

Peasants own extremely small holdings

other hired Labourers

The grow. Rice wheat, and cotton.

They sell these products at Market

Pay taxes moneylenders etc.

at mercy of market

Crisis in 1929-32 prices were halved

village in South India average income 19/ a year

increasing pressure on land is making holding smaller.

Poverty of Working Class.

Workers employed in cotton mills, Jute mills Railways, steel works, Docks etc.

Out of a population of 389 millions only $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions are engaged in Industry

average wage 6° to 1/6° a day.

~~Bombay~~

Debt of Workers in Industrial ~~centres~~ centres

$\frac{2}{3}$ ~~of~~ in Debt to value of 3 months wages.

Bombay

Average Daily Consumption in cereals meat Salt oils etc.

1.54 lbs

Jail code for prisoners in bombay.

Provides ~~xxx~~ 1.84 lbs. hard labour

1.69 lbs. light labour.

on whole workers are better off than the mass of rural population

of the whole population $\frac{4}{5}$ live below subsistence level.

Housing & Sanitation

Indian Woman Doctor. 1922

"In one Room on the Second Floor of a Shawl, measuring Some 15 by 12 feet, I found 6 families living. Six separate ovens on the floor proved this Statement. On enquiry I found that the actual number of adults and children living in this room was 30. --- 3 out of Six of the women who lived in this room were shortly expecting to be delivered. The atmosphere at night of that room filled with Smoke from Six ovens and other impurities would certainly physically handicap any women and infant both before and after delivery.

This was one of the many rooms I saw. In the rooms in the basement of a house were far worse. Here daylight with difficulty penetrated, sunlight never."

~~Statement that Indian can~~

appalling malnutrition and incapitation reflected in the death rate in India.

~~Ind~~ In 1935 - 24 per 1000

England. 12. per 1000

Average life Indian 26 years

England. 60. years.

"Indians can live on a handful of Rice"

Imperialist Propaganda on overpopulation

Overpopulation

Modern version Dates from Malthus 1798.

Between 1840 - 1910

India 18.9 %

England and wales 58.%

Germany. 59.%

Density of population

India 195 per sqr. mile

England 685

Languages & Caste.

Undoubtedly India has a heavy heritage of survivals from the Past.. caste Religion etc..

with regard to Caste.

Census Report.

in places like Jamshedpur where work is done under modern conditions men of all castes and races work side by side in the mill without any misgivings regarding the caste of their neighbours

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Marx. 70 years earlier

Modern Industry will dissolve the hereditary divisions of Labour upon which rests the Indian castes,

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Languages

Simon report

222 separate Languages.

	Spoken By
Kabui	4. person
Anaro.	1 "
Kaira	11
Brame	15
AKA	26.
Tairong	12.
Nora.	2.

Commands in Army Given in Hindustani.

Nehru & Ghandi:

Perfectly Understood by People all over India.

10 Role of British Imperialism

17th Century
East India Company established
trading posts.
and Bengal alone Company & its Servants
extracted £6000000 in bribes

Plunder helped To develop our own
Industrial resources

Rivination of village System

Communal System.

Land Cultivate
Tax in Kind.
Ruler -
Government Provided Irrigation

British
allowed Encroachment to Deserpate
and imposed tax in Cash.
Zemindar owned Land.

India as a Market

During period of east India Company.

India famous for Silks and Cotton

Some exports to england.

70-80% tax on Indian Goods

in 20 years between 1814-35
an exports increased ~~from~~ 50 times

the effect on towns

Regenerating Role.

1850.

Laying of railways lays basis of
modern Industry

Railways cost 260 millions

India as a Source of raw
materials Developed

exports from India in wheat
and Cotton fr £4. millions in 1874
to £19 millions in 1914.

1875 - 19. 15 millions Died of
Starvation throug Famine.

in the wake of famine Sweeps Disease

cholera is Rife
Bihar 2,000 cases
calcutta & Malabar 3,000 deaths
cholera in one week

Malaria Diwarting – no quinine

Sunday Pictorial tells us

Rich Still Gorging
Hotels in Calcutta Serving
14 Course Dinners

Mr Amery Says an act of God.

National Congress & C.P.
warning coming of famine 2 years ago
Daily worker Joshi.
{ Govt has full Powers use against
{ Boarders Profiteers

Blames Provincial Govts

Amery used these Powers to imprison
Nehru Ghandi

Causes of famine humerous

Behind immediate factors
Stands foreign rule which
makes conditions
extreme Lowkly feature British Rule

The Average income year before war
1¼ per Day.

Bombay fails regulations provided for
more food - than workers 60 hours week

Bengal Director Health 15 years ago

"The Peasantry of Bengal take
to Diet - even rats couldn't exist
for five weeks."

India Produces 50 million Tons Grain

1 needs of war - India africa
middle east.

2 fall in imports Burma

Prices Have rocketed as a result of.

A Inflation

B Lack of Controls

Transport difficulties

Trains taken abroad for
war purposes.

Famine eased Somewhat

1 Harvest.

2 Some Help from Canada

During Famine Wavell

(1) visited Famine Areas

(2) used army to transport

~~Lord~~ Wavell may mark change in Policy.

But if Deadlock Be Broken Amery must go

India Suffered worse during office

(His Son.)

Great Question A political one.

Britain Ruled over 150 years

a Story of Terrible Plunder

India is a rich Country

But People Poor.

India & Soviet across Border

India Has everything make it a Rich Country = People Could have abundance

What They need is National Govt not only for ~~Future~~ But for Present

Japanese on Border.

worst famine Areas Bombed.

Base for offensive against Japan

Troops Preoccupied with famine

Morale.

Indian Deep Discontent Subhas Bose.

India wants Drawn fully into war against Fascism.

History of British Labour Movement.

T/SOR/50/3/3

* Capitalism Dev. in Brit. Since 16 Century.
for over 200 years T.U.s developing.
Political movement Later than T.U.s.
T.U. reflection of Cap. Industrial Dev.

* 18th Century – Particularly from Industrial Revolution – developements.
1401 Journeymen Tailors of London,
1754 = Strike = 300 hornish wool weavers,

* Developed as Craft Unions = Compositors Coopers, Carpenters, Joiners.
more formidable orgs. from Ind. Rev.
Influenced By French Revolution 1789 and movement of Lancashire Cotton workers 1792 – Bourgeious Paris Combination Acts 1799.

* Carried out first Series of Strikes

TEXTILES. Scottish Weavers 1812
Lancashire Spinners 1818.

MINERS. N.E. Coast 1810. Scotland 1818
S. Wales 1816.

SEAMEN. Tyne & Wear.

Advance of Unity in Butler Years.

first Nat. Unions.
- Calico Printers
- Ironfounders = raw in N.W.F (Amalgam)
- Papermakers,

– T.U.s Really Born in 25 years 1800 – 1825
Reign of Terror Repeal of Combination Acts 1824

Repeal of Combination Laws = Trade Unionism

- Further National Unions
  General Union Carpenters & Joiners (Owen A.S.W.)
  Steam Engine Makers.
- Sheffield Newspaper.
  "Workers awakened by rage for Trade Unions"

* Strong Language = Strikes esp. Coalfield
  Immediate End was = Violence.
* Movement was for TRADES Unions
  and Sectional Struggles.
* 1829. Grand General Union of United Kingdom.
  100,000 members.
  weekly Journal 4°.
  30,000 Circulation.

1833 = 1st National Industrial Union
operative Builders Union = 40,000.

Entry Robt Owen = propaganda for
new Social order took Unions by Storm.

1834 Grand National Consolidated Union.
first & greatest example of ONE BIG UNION.

Two Aims ① protect interests of members.
② Change order of things

Grew ~~to~~ to 500,000 members
(T&G W.U.?)

Flood Strikes = wages = Hours = Union rights.
Authorities struck hard at weakest link
= Agricultural workers.

* Dorset Labourers = Tolpuddle Martyrs
  7 years Transportation.

Tremendous Campaign

¼ million Petition = 150,000 Demo. King's Cross
Secured release = Unable change "order of things"
First example Syndicalism = belief in T.U. action alone
Unable to accomplish more positive
tasks in Leadership.
Leadership believed in "Natural Harmony"
Passive resistance — disintegration
Dissolved 1834.

Various forms of T.U. Organisation

- Benefit Societies.
- Ind. Rev. Luddites
- Big Unions G.N.C.T.U.

NEXT STAGE OF W.C. DEVELOPMENT.

- Revolutionary Political Movements.
1836 Small Society formed - Lovett & Cleave
London Workmens Association.

AIM. "to draw into one Band of Unity
the intelligent and influential
portion of the working Classes
in town and country, to seek
by every legal means to place all
Classes of Society in possession
of their equal political and
Social rights"

* Education of workers necessary
Landowners = didn't feel oppressive
factory legislation or poor law acts.
as in north.

1834 severe crisis in England

Dissentient rising = Demand
Complete democratic reform Parliament
= PETITION. = Still born - death of King
+ postponements of elections.

* Conference of Radical M.P.s.
Irish agitator O'Connell
" Thine hands is your charter,
agitate for it and never be
content with anything else."

* Historical Charter drawn up seven
months later. = Draft Parliamentary
Bill = 6 points
① equal electoral districts
② abolition of property qualifications
for M.P.s,
③ Universal manhood Suffrage
④ Annual Parliaments
⑤ Vote by Ballot
⑥ Payment of M.P.s,

* Redistributed Spring 1838
Crisis = Lord John Russell Nov 1837
opposed points "Secret Ballot"
Shorter terms Parliament.
- Brought people to feet,
- Chartist centres of popular ferment,

- Huge mass meetings
- Newspapers Northern Star - Fergus O'Connor
- Demo. G'gow May 1838 200,000, Newcastle 80,000 = Manchester 300,000,

* Chartist Petition prepared.
Delegates to Nat. Convention
Physical + moral force groups
Vain appeals = delays.

* Further mass meetings.
Ball-ring attack by Govt.
Newcastle, G'gow, Sunderland Clashes
1842 = strike was highest point
Started in Manchester.
Not United = "Holy Month Week"

* 1848 — Turning point Social History
Repeal of Corn Laws. - Period of prosperity
'Workshop of World' - Crumbs to workers

* Chartism's failure - immaturity of W.C.
first expression W.C fighting
for itself as a class.

* 3 Main Stages
- Convention
- Physical ?
- Decline

Weakness No Centralised disciplined organisation

Positive Ind. W.C. fighting as Class.

NEW MODEL UNIONS

Triumph of Free Trade — W'shop of world.
Slogan of Unions - Defence not Defiance
Concessions to two main groups of workers
= Textile workers = Benefited 10 Hs Act 1847
= ~~Bldg~~ Building + Metals workers.

- Controversy of Labour over main Body of workers = reflected in Character of new Trade Unions.

- Highly developed Craft Unions
  - High Contributions, Sick, funeral, unemployment benefits.
- National Centralised Unions
  e.g. Amal. Soc. Engineers 1851
  11,000 members = £500 p.w. income
  Policy of Co-operation = Liberal Unions
  Capitalist philosophy.

* But dis-ast and strikes
9 Hours movement - Belg. trades
London strike & Lock-outs 1859-60,
Victim win Hrs reduction
defeated 'Document'

* Out of this Strike arose
Amal. Soc. Carpenters & Joiners
- 9 Hrs now, Spread N.E. Coast
  5 months strike = won for District

* Althó' Unions were for Co-operation
centres on broad democratic issues

(1) Fight for Legal Status of Unions.

- no legal protection of funds.
- strikers gaoled for "intimidation"
- Master & Servants Act = Breach of Contract = 3 months Jail.

(2) Extension of Franchise.

Reform act 1867 = Vote to town workers.

(3) International Solidarity

mass mtgs Support North = U.S. Civil war.
Polish + Italian national Struggles
Garibaldi welcomed
Nat. League Indep. Poland.

- Active Support for 1st International
- Marx Leadership
- 1871 = Trades Councils
- 1868 = Nat. Conference Manchester + Salford Trades Council

Prohibition • Unions legal position

Yorkshire regional T.U.C.

* Early 'Seventies' Boom Years
Showed weaknesses of 'model Unions'
upsurge growth of Unions
375,000 T.U.C affiliations 1,200,000.

Reached Unskilled - Notably Agric. workers
Joseph Arch Built + Led 1872-3 100,000 mbrs.
Victim Swing agricultural depression.

- Check on Bureau authority
= ho dominant principle of T.U. Policy
Exclusion of Pol. activity = no General
U.C. mov. in Continental Sense

- Insecurity = breakaways = new craft Unions
- Crisis in mid Seventies
Strikes – bitter – defeated
worst in British History.
End of an epoch.

Basis of Model Unions

"Defense not defiance"

Positive Aspects

- National Centralised = 'the' craft
- Broad Democratic issues.
Franchise – 1st International
National Independent Movement.

UNRRA

* Relief services of all kinds
* Hot Springs Conference
* Conference of International Monetary Agreement.
* b/t Big Trade Discussions
* American Discussions on World Peace System.

× Based on great Political Relationships of the People
× Full Participation U.S.S.R.

Does that mean automatic
victory for Teheran Decisions?
— No - Increasing struggle
against anti-Teheran forces
of Reaction - Axis heads
British and U.S. Capitalism

What Does this mean for Class forces
after the war.?

Broad Democratic Camps in
Each Country. Entirely new Political Situation

Let's Test This for Each Country

(a) France what's Position.

I From Darlan - ground to De Gaulle
and French Nat'l Ctte Liberation
(with C.P. representation) Provisoire.

① Full immediate prep. for war
② Punishment of all traitors in hands
③ Broad Democratic and Social
Policy
④ Unite people France and Empire
⑤ Strengthening of France's Role in
United Nations

II - Preparation of the National
Strike and Armed Uprising
arming the people

III A Provisional Govt -
Nat'l Lib Ctte and Forces inside
France

Purge - Reform - Confiscate
— Prepare Constituent assembly

(2) The Beaverbrook Mission and Rudolphes

(3) The 20 years Anglo-Soviet alliance.

(4) The Moscow Conference

(5) The Teheran meeting

~~What will be~~ and now the final consummation of the alliance — The 2nd Front

* Have these Developments come automatically — No.
Military and Political forces

What were the key Military and Political Forces ?

(1) The Soviet Advances
Stalingrad - Kursk - and the new offensives

(2) Allied Military Advances
North Africa - Italy - Far East

(3) The European Resistance movement — France
Yugo Slavia - Czechoslovakia

(4) The mass political movement of the British people.

Basic social structure to be decided by the Free People

[cf Fundamentals]

Yugoslavia

Ist Mikhailovitch — Then regulin Tito.

People Liberation Committee

Broadest Unity Free Democratic people

Basic Social questions to be decided after invader defeated

Italy. Angst to Badoglian Administration

Ist The Togas Against the invader

Bad attitude this Govt

Power still hands Badoglio King.

But Red Anti-Fascist forces united - Soviet ice is changing Italian position

Satellite Countries Breaking up

Spain United Unity Against Falange

Govt Nat. Unity — all monarchists and Army — Then Constituent assembly.

Bulgaria Govt of Patriotic Front — Then constituent assembly.

T/SOR/50/3/3

"Fascism and Social Revolution" R.P. Dutt.

Revolutionary Marxism is confident that, because the Productive forces are on the side of Communism, Communism will conquer; that the victory of Communism, which is expressed in the victory of the proletariat, is ultimately inevitable as the sole final outcome of the existing contradictions; that the nightmare of the other alternative, of the "dark ages" whose creeping shadow begins to haunt the imagination of current thinkers, will yet be defeated, will be defeated by the Organised forces of international Communism.

But this inevitability is not independant of the human factor. On the contrary, it can only be realised through the human factor. Hence the urgency of the fight against fascism, and the victory of the proletariat, on which the whole future of human society depends (introduction)

—

Fascism is not inevitable. Fascism is not a necessary stage of Capitalism through which all countries must pass. The social revolution can forestall fascism, as it has done in Russia. But if the ~~Socialist~~ Revolution is delayed then fascism becomes inevitable.

Fascism can be fought. Fascism can be fought and defeated. But Fascism can only be fought and defeated if it is fought without illusions and with clear understanding of the issues. The causes of fascism lie deep-rooted in existing society. Capitalism in its decay breeds fascism. Capitalist democracy in ~~its decay~~ decay breeds ~~fascism~~ fascism.

The only guarantee against fascism, the only final wiping-out of the causes of fascism, is the victory of the proletarian Dictatorship. (introduction)

~~Fascism~~ Fascism, ~~is~~ in fact, is no peculiar, independant doctrine and system arising in opposition to existing Capitalist Society. Fascism, on the contrary, is the most complete and consistent working out, in certain conditions of extreme decay, of the most typical tendencies and policies of modern Capitalism.

What are those characteristics which are common, subject to a difference in degree, to all modern capitalism and to Fascism? The most outstanding of these characteristics may be summarised as follows:

1 The basic aim of the maintenance of Capitalism in the face of the revolution which the advance of the productive technique and of class antagonisms threatens.

2 The Consequent intensification of the Capitalist Dictatorship

3 The limitation and repression of the independant working-class movement, and building up of a system of organised class Co-operation

4 The revolt against, and increasing suppression of, Parliamentary Democracy.

5 The extending state monopolist organisation of Industry and Finance.

6 The closer concentration of each imperialist bloc into a single economic-political unit

7 The advance to war as the necessary accompaniment of the increasing imperialist antagonisms.

All these characteristics are typical, in greater or lesser degree, of all modern capitalist states, no less than of the specifically Fascist States.

The objective conditions for the social revolution were ripe already from the beginning of the period of imperialism, and more particularly since the opening of the general crisis of capitalism in 1914.

But the living human factor was not yet ready. The minds of men were still dominated by the conceptions of the past epoch. The bursting of the contradictions in the world war and after broke on the majority of men like a natural catastrope. The first aim was widely proclaimed on all sides ~~was~~ to resume the broken thread of Pre-war continuity.

The proletariat in the leading capitalist countries, although advancing to social revolution, was not yet strong enough, not yet conious enough, not organized enough, to overthrow the rule of the capitalist class. The revolts of the proletariat after the war, although drawing close to success and profoundly transforming the political situation, were finally defeated in all countries outside Russia.

The Capitalist class, having overcome the immediate menace to its rule, set itself the aim to restore the shaken mechanism of capitalist production and exchange, to return to "pre-war" or "normalcy".

The proletariat, following the leadership of social democracy, after the defeat of the revolution, sought to win improved conditions within the capitalist restoration.

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What was the main basis of the defeat of the proletarian Revolution and the rebuilding of Capitalism in the years following the war? Fascism at this time did not exist as a factor save in Italy.

1 Direct civil war and counter-revolution - the wars of intervention against Russia, the White terror in Finland, Hungary, Poland etc., the military aid to Poland in 1920, the permission of counter-revolutionary military organisations, officer's corps [illegible] Orgesh etc., in Germany (which helped build the basis of

production from the beginning. As Adam Smith wrote in his Wealth Of Nations:

"People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public or in some contrivance to raise prices."

Book 1. Chapter 10, Part ii.

But such a policy appeared to Adam Smith, the original voice of classic capitalism, as an "offence against the principles of capitalist production, as a conspiracy against the public".

It has remained for our day that all the capitalist governments of the world should meet together in the World Economic Conference to proclaim, with the Communist voice of all the most enlightened, progressive statesmen and all the economists, the supreme aim to restrict production and to raise prices. This is a measure of the extreme decay of Capitalism.

The destructive modern stage of capitalist policy for the destruction of wealth and of the productive forces is marked by three outstanding characteristics.

The first is the gigantic scale of the destruction, conducted over entire principal world areas of production, and calculated in relation to world stocks.

The second is the direct government organisation and subsidising of such destruction and restriction of production by all the leading imperialist governments.

The third is the extension of destruction, not only to the destruction of existing stocks of commodities, but to the destruction of the productive forces, the ploughing up of crops and sown areas, the artificial limitation of production, the dismantling of machinery, as well as holding unused the labour power of millions of workers.

(Pages 23-24)

We say to the workers: "You will have to, in twenty, fifty years of Civil wars and International wars, not only in order to change existing conditions, but also in order to change yourselves and fit yourselves for the exercise of Political Power". (Marx on The Communist Leaguat Cologne 1851)

"The Bourgeoisie see in Bolshevism only one side .... insurrection, violence, terror; it endeavours therefore to prepare itself especially for resistence and opposition in that direction alone. It is possible that, in single Countries, for more or less short periods, they will succeed. We must reckon with such a possibility, and there is absolutely nothing dreadful to us in the fact that the Bourgeoisie might succeed in this. Communism 'springs up' from positively all sides of social life, its sprouts are everywhere, without exception — the Contagion (to use the favourite and 'pleasantest' comparison of the Bourgeoisie and bourgeois police) has very thoroughly penetrated into the organism and has totally impregnated it. If one of the 'vents' were to be stopped up with special care, contagion would find, Sometimes another most unexpected vent. Life will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, let it work itself into a frenzy, Commit stupidities, take vengeance in advance on the Bolsheviks, and endeavour to exterminate in India, Hungary, Germany, etc., more hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands of the Bolsheviks of yesterday or those of tomorrow. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as did all classes condemned to death by history. The Communists must Know that the future at any rate is theirs; Therefore we can and must unite the intensest passion in the great revolutionary Struggle with the coolest and soberest calculations of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie .... In all cases and in all countries Communism Grows; its roots are so deep that persecution neither weakens, nor Debilitates, but Rather strengthens it." (Lenin Left-wing Communism 1921)

subsequent Fascism in Germany) and the like. This was of decisive importance at the immediate critical points of struggle, but it could not provide the main basis, as it had no mass support and and could only build on the narrow ranks of the ex-officer class and direct reactionary classes; the failure of the Kapp putsch demonstrated this weakness. It was only later that Fascism was to find the way towards a temporary solution of the problem of the combination of counter-revolution with winning a wide measure of mass support.

The Second was social Democracy and the granting of temporary concessions to the workers. Social democracy, because of its mass basis, was the main weapon of Capitalism in the years immediately after the war for the rebuilding of Capitalism. The advance of the workers to the struggle for power, the immediate attack of which was too powerful to be successfully defeated in direct battle, was ~~defeated~~ circumvented by a strategical ruse — the placing of Social ~~Democratic~~ Democratic Governments, presidents and ministers in office, thus appearing to surrender to the workers the seats of power, while the realities of power remained with capitalism. Only in this way, by the alliance with social democracy, by hiding Capitalism under a Social Democratic Front, was was the capitalist state saved after the war. Social Democracy united with capitalism to defeat the workers' revolution. A great show of concessions to the workers was made; promises were lavishly broadcast; socialisation Commissions, nationalisation Commissions, Sankey Commissions were set up, wages were increased, hours shortened.

Subsequently, as soon as the power of capitalism was thus successfully re-established, a reverse action took place. The concessions were withdrawn; inflation swept them out in European countries; the capitalist offensive drove

back the workers even below pre-war levels; the Social Democrats, while still occasionally used as Governments, were increasingly relegated to the role of opposition. At the same time, the consequent growth of disillusionment of the workers with the whole process and with Social Democracy led to the necessity of capitalism discovering a further basis of power, and the further development of fascism as the parallel instrument of capitalism alongside Social Democracy. But this development only took place on a wider scale as the the stabilisation began to break down in the world economic crisis.

3. The third weapon of Capitalism in the re-establishment of its power and of its economic System was the drawing on the colossal reserves of the still unshaken centre of world capitalism – American Capitalism. American loans and credits poured into Europe to bolster up and rebuild the shaken fabric of European Capitalism. On this basis the restoration of the gold standard took Place. The triumph of Stabilisation was celebrated by the bankers of the world. It was obvious that this basis was a false one, and would involve a boomerang outcome, as was predicted at the time by Marxists.

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(Pages 28, 29, and 30).

counter-

In the first place, the direct revolutionary fighting organisation was still built on the narrow circle of privileged strata and their immediate ranges of influence, and had no wider mass basis. The masses were still only reached by Social Democracy or Communism.

Second, the weapon of Social Democracy was more and more blunted by each successive use. Widespread disillusionment grew with the failure of Social Democracy,

not only to lead any fight for socialism, but even to fight to maintain existing conditions or to defend the daily interests of the workers. The more and more desperate use of ever extending disciplinary and Coercive measures by the Social Democratic leadership to maintain their power could not check this growing discontent. In the European countries as a whole during this period the vote of Social Democracy declined, and that of communism increased.

Third the American Colossus, on whose support and subsidies the restoration of capitalism was built up, was a colossus with feet of clay. As rapid as was its expansion and apparent prosperity and power in the war and post-war period, no less rapid was the hurtling of the contradictions of its capitalist structure into a more gigantic economic crisis than any previously experienced in any Country of Capitalism. But just as American capitalism had provided the economic base for the rebuilding of capitalism throughout the world, so the American crash brought with it the crash of the whole structure of Stabilisation throughout the world.

Fourth, the very success for the moment of stabilisation, of rationalisation, of the enormous expansion of the productive structure, brought with it the intensification of all the Problems and conflicts of Capitalism, and only resulted in the more rapid and Complete shipwreck. The gigantic productive mechanism required a no less gigantic expansion of the market; unless it could maintain its mass output at full working, its very much heavier maintenance costs made it actually less economical than more primitive technical forms.

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1929-32 crash etc

Collapse of the 'Stabilisation' illusions. Organised capitalism ultra-Imperialism

The Collapse of these illusions with the world economic crisis was of decisive importance in the development of Capitalist ideology to Fascism.

~~The main forms taken by these illusions with the world economic crisis~~ The main forms taken by these illusions were twofold, both closely connected.

The first was the myth of American capitalism as a new type of Capitalism, which had overcome the contradictions of crisis of the old capitalism, which had "ironed out the trade cycle", and found the key to permanent prosperity and the abolition of poverty through continuously rising standards of the workers alongside continuously rising profits. American capitalism was held out as the triumphant refutation of Communism. "Ford versus Marx" was the common popularisation of this theme.

The Second, closely connected with the first, was the conception of "Organised Capitalism" as the new type of capitalism developing throughout the world, and building up under capitalist leadership a rational world order, which would eliminate the evils, poverty and discords of the old nineteenth-century Capitalism. and replace them by unparalled universal prosperity. This conception found its final expression in "Ultra-Imperialism", or the conception that capitalist development was working towards a unified ~~cap~~ world capitalist order, eliminating war and the diversions of imperialism under the benificent and pacific control of International finance.

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"A well-known statement of Lenin in 1920 with reference to the post-war crisis gave warning against the illusion that there ~~was~~ is "absolutely no way out" for capitalism; on the contrary, "there are no absolutely hopeless situations."

The meaning of this statement is often misunderstood, because it is commonly quoted out of its context. Lenin was in fact giving warning against "two widespread errors": first, the error of the "Bourgeois economists", who fail to see the basic character of the crisis and regard it as a temporary "unsettlement"; and second, the error of the passive revolutionists, who expect an automatic collapse of capitalism. Against the latter he pointed out that the "proof" of the collapse of capitalism can only be, not any abstract logical demonstration, but the successful action of the proletariat in overthrowing it. Until then, capitalism remains in power, drags on somehow, finds its own "way out" each time, no matter what disturbances it passes through. In other words, capitalism does not escape the general crisis into which it has fallen since 1914, and which is inevitable in the present stage of conflict between the forces of production and the existing relations of capitalist property ownership; it only passes ~~through~~ from one stage of crisis to another; there is no question of a temporary "unsettlement". But capitalism does not finally fall until the proletariat overthrows it. This is the dialectic of the general crisis of capitalism which Lenin was concerned to demonstrate."

On the one hand, so long as the proletariat is not ready and strong enough, capitalism remains in power; on the other hand, capitalism does not recover from its mortal sickness. At each stage, if the Proletariat is not yet ready to deal the death blow, there remains a capitalist "way out" which prevails. But the capitalist "way out" is no harmonious solution, no simple restoration of order to a temporary "unsettlement". The Capitalist

"way out" is a each stage a way of increasing destruction, of mass starvation, of violence, of war, of decay. This is the lesson of the two decades since the outbreak of the war. And this is the character of the present stage of the economics and politics of Capitalism resulting from the world economic crisis, and carrying to an extreme point the whole development of imperialist decay.

Destruction in place of construction; closed "national" (i.e., imperialist) economic blocs in place of the formal objective of international interdependence; social and political repression in place of liberalism – these are the characteristic watchwords of capitalism in the present period. (Page 42-43).

The Destruction of Productive Forces

The most direct, elementary and typical expression of the present stage of capitalist ~~poverty~~ policy is the organised collective destruction of wealth and of the productive forces.

The purposeful destruction of commodities for economic reasons is in itself nothing new in capitalism, but an integral part of its daily working from the beginning. It ~~was~~ was in 1799 that Fourier first became convinced of the necessity of a new form of social organisation when he found himself entrusted with the task at Marseilles to superintend the destruction of a quantity of rice held for higher prices during a scarcity of food till it had become unfit for use. Nevertheless, this rice had at any rate been held back in the hope of sale, and was only destroyed because it had become unfit for use. This was not yet the modern principle of wholesale destruction of good rice, good wheat, good cotton, good coffee and good meat.

In the same way the endeavour by combination to limit stocks, restrict production, and maintain or raise prices is inherent, not merely Capitalism, but in Commodity